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THE

Illustrated Indian Star.

A MONTHLY JOURNAL.

Vol. I] MADRAS, JANUARY 1905. [No. 3

The Greakwar of Baroda.

HIS Highness Sayaji Row III, the present ruler of Baroda, was born of a branch of the family, founded by Pilaji Rao Gaekwar, in a village in Khandesh on March 17, 1863. When Maharajah Mulhar Rao was deposed, the Government of India decided to find an heir in some branch of the Gaekwar family who had no connection with the local circumstances and conditions. The second son of the Khandish branch of the [family was selected for adoption and was placed on the *gudi* on May 27, 1875, under the name, Sayaji Rao III.

His education was at once taken and all possible care bestowed on it. It was intended to fit him to the position he was called upon by destiny to fill and as such it was not perfunctory. Mr. F. A. H. Elliot, an English Civilian of considerable parts, was selected for his tutor and the prince was called upon to submit to six years of training under his able tution. A little school was formed where he applied himself to his study with his companions chosen from suitable ranks to study with him.

Every day from ten to five he devoted for mental culture and in the mornings and evenings he underwent such physical exercises as would best promote a vigorous and robust manhood. He never knew anything of the luxurious idleness connected with the idea of palace life. When the time for his installation on the *gudi* drew nearer, he was given special training for fitting him for the responsible work that awaited him. Sir T. Madhava Rao, the Regent of Baroda and other chief officials of the state gave him lectures on various subjects, covering the principles of the Government and the special details of the different branches of law and administration. These lectures lasted more than two or three years and was listened to by the prince with all interest. The prince was also made to acquaint himself with the different departments and function of Government before he assumed power.

Although it is generally held that teachers and guardians may provide all facilities for education and self-discipline, the results depend mainly on the student himself. From the very beginning His Highness showed that Nature had meant him for the high part he has played in his state. He was studious and regular in habits and diligently applied himself to progress both in mental and physical training. He was fond of riding, wrestling, fencing and other manly exercises. From the first he displayed rare and creditable qualities. He was modest, dignified, self-possessed. He displayed good social manners, evenness of temper and thoughtful disposition. Regularity, love of method and exactness and above all the quiet tenacity and perseverance characterized him from his student career. When the prince ascended the *gudi* he was well equipped to bear the weight of the state and imbued with the idea of progress. His sobriety, restraint and diligence aided him a great deal in his administrative work.

In 1880, His Highness married an accomplished princess of the Tanjore Royal Family and in the following year he was installed on the *gudi* with full powers and he began his glorious career. When Sir T. Madhava Rao who was made the Regent of the State during the minority of the prince assumed the powers of the Government he saw everything was out of order and required reorganization. His statesmanship and proved ability succeeded in laying some first foundations and sketching out the frame-work of some of the first necessities of a systematic and modern administration. He had to build up everything anew. In conjunction with the Resident he settled many questions of administration which lay between his state and the Government of India. He set himself to work with all vigour to bring his state in all details in the line of progress with the rest of India.

Soon after His Highness took up the reins of the Government he began to

acquire personal acquaintance with the condition and the needs of his state and lay strong foundations in all directions. He visited each of the districts of Borada, noted local needs and conditions. During his tour round his state he was accessible to all sorts of his people which enabled him to know the real state of his subject and their wants.

He introduced various reforms in the internal administration of his state and the town of Baroda was renovated and within a very few years became a very beautiful place. He bestowed great care on the machinery of the Government and brought reforms in all departments so that the administration of his state might become in the end so well regulated as to enable it with proper supervising officers to go on automatically and effectively without the necessity of frequent personal intervention. On the occasion of his visit to Baroda in 1886 Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, referred to the renovating work of His Highness in eulogizing terms.

Her Highness the Maharani who was ailing with consumptive desease departed from this world in 1885. The extreme devotion with which he watched her during her lingering illness broke down his health and it was afterwards found his nervous system was completely shattered. To recover his lost health he repaired to Mount Abu in 1886, took a sea-trip to Ceylon the following year and resided some time in Mahableshwar. None of these expedients availing him in regaining his health he started for Europe.

His Highnesse's first visit to Europe lasted until February 1888 and he revisited Europe, 1892 and after a short return to India in 1893 went back to Europe by the close of the year. His European travels did much in furthering his state in civilization and enlighten ment. His sojourn in Europe widened his experience and culture and wherever he went he sought hints which might help to improve the condition of his state.

His frequent visits to Europe first begot hasty and ill-informed criticisms most discreditable on the part of the critics. If the critics had realized the value of his work in Europe they would certainly have refrained from such senseless criticisms. Without these visits he would never have sufficiently recovered his health and his country would never have become what it is now. HisEuropean visits has transformed His Highness from an ordinary ruler into a well cultured and well informed prince in India. Many progressive measures were introduced and worked out. Before the time when he started on his first visit to Europe the people were very conversative and it was with the greatest difficulty he induced those who followed him. But His Highness was not to be intimidated. Nature has given him what is required to stem the tide of

difficulties. With undaunted courage and perseverance he broke down the stupid barriers of prejudice that existed between his people and sea-voyage and encouraged many students to go to Europe for widening their sphere of knowledge. Now, there are a number of people in Baroda who have visited Europe and widened their minds by foreign travels. The effect of the foreign travel is amply seen in the administration and the general progress of the country.

His Highness had laid down the lines of administration so admirably well ordered that his absence has never appreciably affected its excellence and smooth working. On one occasion only there was some trouble when the full force of the Maharaja's energy and courage was to be applied to stem the force of it. This was in connection with his land alienation policy. There was altercation between him and the British Resident, but the Maharaja was not cowed down by the presence of the Resident in the matter and the case was referred to the Government of India which decided in the Maharajah's favour.

The reforms he introduced in the state and the excellent results they produced are to be laid down to his personal energy and devotion. Education was made compulsory, a large net work of schools being established throughout the country; Civil and Criminal Codes for the Raj were enacted and various other measures calculated to further the advance of the state were introduced. A great drainage scheme for the City of Baroda was inaugurated and Sanitation and Medical Art have been largely fostered. Hospitals in principal towns, dispensaries in smaller places were erected. Travelling dispensaries to the backward parts of the state have carried medical relief to the door of the poor. There is also a female hospital with a Lady Doctor at Baroda. A Veterinary Hospital has also been instituted to treat lower creations.

Railway construction has been encouraged in a large measure. One hundred and eighty five miles of railway have already been built and a capital of forty lakhs invested which yields a profit of more than seven lakhs. The Maharajah have been taking special interest in railway construction and in education.

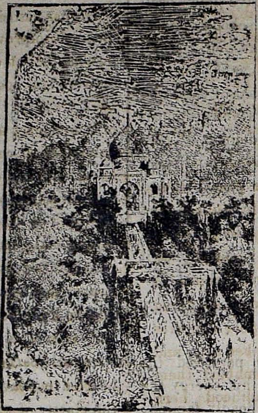
He is now, it is aaid, giving his full thought to the principles of local self-government and considering as to the successful working of the scheme. It speaks much to his credit. From the very beginning His Highness appears to have seen that the system of local self-government could be worked out in his state on an indigenous basis. He had set himself to revive and perfect the institution of self-contained villages with its own headman, accountant, police, school-master etc. The position of the

servants was regulated by payments and fixed duties. The Panchayats of these self-contained villages have now been empowered to look after schools, sanitation, small public works, etc., and money placed in their hands for the purpose. The qualifications of votes and electors and their powers and responsibilities have been well defined. These form the basis for elections to District Boards for which rules have been framed and elections are being introduced and these again will form the basis for Divisional Boards. The whole edifice it is hoped will be crowned with a Legislative Council in future.

The famine of 1900 paralized the whole state and with all his energy the Maharaja fought out the deadly famine: but, although a great deal of relief has been given to the destitute people he could not altogether prevent the loss of life resulting therefrom. The state is however improving.

He has associated himself with the industrial improvements not only of his own state but of the whole India. He delivered a speech at Ahmĕdabad in 1902 treating the industrial aspirations of the country and it is still fresh in the minds of his countrymen. He was the President of the Social Conference this time and his speech in connection with it, will, it is hoped, be a sure guide for the social improvements of Indian people as a whole. He has been the supporter of social reform movements and he has given large donations for the furtherance of the cause. We hope with all earnestness that the whole-hearted endeavours of His Highnes in the matter of social improvements calculated to uplift the down-trodden Indians in and out of his state will be blessed by God to bear the desired fruit.

The Taj Mahal.



I started alone, on the 14th of a Lunar month to see the Taj. The light of the full-orbed moon had exalted all Nature to happiness. The sound of busy existence and the tiresome din of traffic had all been hushed. All the world was in deep sleep, save the gentle strain of music of the air which stole up from all round. I entered the outer gate of the Taj Mahal, which is a hugemassive building having suitable extracts from the Koran engraved on marble and set in with jet on the arched doorways. On entering, I was astonished by the pomp of architecture and the elaborate beauty of the sculpture detail.

I pursued my walk towards the main shrine. On coming here I saw the mounts covered with velvet-like grass undulating irregularly on all sides; the drooping plants surrounding the beautiful lakes; the gravel walks running in fantastic turns describing various figures. The blended scents of a hundred kinds of delicious flowers with gentle breeze are just enough to lull one to repose. The trees of various kinds, on both sides of the way to the mausoleum, always wear green and golden livery having the brilliant dyes of oranges, lemons, citrons and the like fruits.

While I was sauntering through the parks and the beds of flowers, a few steps brought me hard by a fine terrace. The main building is elevated upon this platform. I ascended a small flight of stairs which conducted me upon the terrace of marble, having a tall graceful minaret towering into the azure sky at each corner. The beauty of the chief edifice was self-multiplied when I saw it in full-orbed moon shining over it.

I entered through a gate into a cellar beneath the dome, where the remains of Arjumend Bano Begum known in history as Mumtaz Mahal or 'the exalted of the palace'—and her husband Shah Jahan were richly inlaid. Their tombs of precious stones and jewels with some poems in Arabic and Persian in eulogy of the happy deceased impress on the mind of the beholder in a manner never to be forgotten. It almost made me

smile at the vanity of human ambition to see how he is in the dust, whom, when alive, kingdoms could not satisfy. Just above the tombs on the roof of the cellar there are two tombes of corresponding shape and size. The lower as well as upper tombs are within an enclosure of most delicately carved marble fretwark.

On the right side of the Mahal there stands a big mosque for the Hafizes to ricite the Holy Koran and other prayers ; while on the left is erected an Orphan House in which thousands of poor and helpless people were sheltered in the Mughul days. These poor creatures were fed and clothed, and looked after and were trained in arts that enabled them to earn an honorable livelihood ; here they grew from a state of wretched childhood to manhood of self-support

On the back of the mausoliem the Jamna flows silently, and reflects the glorious and exqusite shape of the tomb, and gives a very beautiful view.

It is recorded in an old Persian manuscript about the royal building at Agra, and the story of Queen's death and of the subsequent erection of the tomb. These are thus related :—

Shah-Jahan was much attached to Mumtaz Mahal, the daughter of Nawab Asuf Khan the Vazeer, and the grand-daughter of Nawab Itmad-ud-dowlah. She had four sons and three daughters. Dehr-Arai the fourth daughter was born at the cost of her mother. It is related that Dehr-Arai cried while she was in her womb and on hearing the wail, the Queen, despaired of her own life. She sent for the Emperor, and when he came, she said, " My loving Lord, when a child weeps in the womb its mother never survives. Such is the tradition of the world, and since it has befallen me I am destined to die shortly. My Lord, my life is very short, pray pardon me for any past faults which I may have committed by words or by deeds" The Emperor was so much overpowered by these words, that he burst into tears. But after a time the Queen began again : " Dear Lord, I know that I was your companion during all your days of misfortune and captivity. And now that the Almighty has granted the kingship of a realm to you. I die with a sore and reluctant heart. In consideration of my past sufferings with you I ask two favours of you, which will be my last requests." The Emperor, who was quite speechless all the time, nodded assent, and the dying Queen resumed, saying : " The first thing, then, is that you have been blessed with eight children already. I wish you to be content with these and not to marry another wife after my death lest there should be quarrels and bloodshed among step-mothers, by your marrying another wife and having more issues by her. My next desire is that my tomb should be unsurpassed by any in the world."

When the Queen closed her days the Emperor Shah-Jahan gave orders for

plans, and hundreds of these were laid before him and were rejected. At last a plan prepared by Essa Khan was approved, and a model cut in wood was shown to the Emperor before the mausoleum was erected.

The 'chef d' œuvre' of architecture is unrivalled. On the east of the city about a mile below the fort this 'drean in marble' stands. The construction of the Taj covered a period of seventeen years. The Taj, which was commenced in 1630 and completed in 1647, is described as representing "The most highly elaborated stage of ornamentation, the stage at which the architect ends and jeweller begins." In regard to color and design, its exterior may rank first in the world for purely decorated workmanship.

SYED JAWAD AHMAD.

SPEECHES
OF
Mr. Shimada and Count Okuma.

AMERICO-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

(*Continued*).

The speaker was happy to be able to say that the attention paid to the party was not thrown away, for it was from the members of this mission that there arose a man the late Count Katsu—whe did much in organizing the Japanese Navy—and other and perhaps greater man, the late Mr. Fakuzawa, who did more than any other man in promoting the course of education and the spread of liberal, enlightened ideas. Then coming to later times, Mr. Shimada called attention to the fact that American citizens were most prominent among those foreigners who assisted in the re-organization of the various branches of Japanese administration. He also referred to the sympathetic attitude invariably maintained by America in regard to the question of the abolition of extra-territoriality. Neither did he omit to mention with gratitude that it was America who led the other Powers in withdrawing their post office from our treaty ports. Mr. Shimada then proceeded to ask the question—"Why is it that China, which has been in contact with the West much longer than we have, still lags behind us? Why is it that whole China has been and is suffering from a serious religious trouble—namely conflicts between adherents of Christianity and non-converts,—Japan is quite free from such trouble? Many causes doubtless conspired to this singular result. But on the preset occasion, the speaker naturally confined himseif to one, namely the superior personal character of those who first represented Occidental civilization in the fields of religion and education. And many of these lofty-minded persons hailed from the great Republic on the other side of the Pacific. Who did not gratefully cherish the memories of men like Verbeek,

Hepburn, Williams, Thompson, Griffith, Brown and Clarke ? The Americans would doubtless say that they had done only their duty, Mr. Shimada rightly insisted that the Japanese should, and did, all the same feel, keenly thankful for the increasing sympathy and assistance given them hy the Americans. Lastly the speaker referred to the peculiar bond of affinity that unites the Japanese with theAmericans and the English, namely, the bond of a common type of civilization. Japan, he said, had definitely identified herself with the Anglo Saxon type of civilization which was characterized by its love of freedom, equality, and progress This was in one sense the result of a geographical necessity. One of the very reasons of America's sending out Perry to knock at our door of seclusion had been the opening of the Pacific coast which had brought America face to face with Japan across the sea. This geographical intimacy would be immensely increased on the completion of the Isthmian Canal. He concluded with the prophecy that the friendship that had so naturally and so auspiciously been cemented, and which had produced in the past such splendid results, would be fruitful of more splendid events in the future. With these words Mr. Shimada sat down.

(To be continued.)

The Indian National Congress.

MEETING AT BOMBAY.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

(By Wire.)

BOMBAY, *26th December*:—Eleven to twelve hundred delegates and ten to elven thousand visitors attended to-day's Congress which opened at 1 o'clock with the singing of the Congress Anthem. Sir P. M. Mehta welcomed the delegates in an eloquent speech which was tremendously cheered. After being duly proposed and seconded, Sir Henry Cotton delivered his Presidential Address which was also tremendously cheered. Among the visitors were also five to six hundred ladies.

THE HON'BLE SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA'S SPEECH.

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Sir P. M. Mehta, as chairman of the Reception Committee of the Twentieth Indian National Congress held at Bombay today:—

OUR ENGLISH SYMPATHISERS.

I count it a piece of singular good fortune that I should stand before you here to-day to tender to you, my brother Delegates of the Twentieth Indian National Congress, the same cordial,

sincere, and earnest welcome, on behalf of the Reception Committee, which it was my pride and privilege to tender to you on this very Congress platform exactly this day, fifteen years ago. It is a piece of still greater good fortune for which both you and I cannot but be equally thankful, that I am suported on this occasion, as on the last, by the presence, amongst us of one than whom India had never a warmer, truer, more devoted, more self-sacrificing, more faithful and more constant friend—you see him on my right, Sir William Wedderburn—whose name is now a household word amongst us, cherished with tender respect and affection. A noble type of the high-minded and high-souled Englishman at his best, it is owing to the fact of the existence and activity of such Englishmen in the ranks of Anglo-Indians and Civilians that our hopes and our aspirations escape from despair, and our attachment and our loyalty to British rule are preserved and strengthened. It never rains but it pours, says the proverb, which in its ignorance of the scheme of Providence, attributes to it partiality and favouritism and I am tempted to boast of another piece of good fortune at finding that my Chairmanship is, on this occasion as on the last, destined to be illustrated by the presidency of another such Englishman as I have described, Anglo-Indian and Civilian, who has, not yesteaday or to-day but throughout a career rising from the lowest to almost the highest step of the Civilian ladder, uniformly and consistently realized that he best served the interests of his own country and the great service to which he belonged, by strictly and faithfully adhering to a policy of righteousness and sympathy. But that is another story which will be presently unfolded at due length after I have tried, if not tired, your patience for sometime longer. I cannot however pass on without congratulating ourselves on the presence of a gentleman, one of the oldest and most respected Member of Parliament, who has for years quietly and unostentatiously, but none the less nobly and earnestly, raised his voice in the interests of this country. I refer to Mr. Samuel Smith. But in the midst of these manifold congratulations my vanity is checked by the reflexion that after all, however man may propose, it is God who disposes. We looked forward at one time with enthusiastic anticipations to gaze on the kindly, radiant, and loving countenances of three, perhaps the oldest, partriarchs of the Congress. But the call of duty which never calls him in vain has deprived us of the presence of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and imperative considerations of health have deprived us of the opportunity of seeing once again the beloved and revered Founder of this body Mr. Hume, and if I may say so, his eldest son Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. But absent as they are, we will tell them that their names and deeds are and will for ever be cherished in our hearts with love veneration and gratitude.

THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT & THE CONGRESS

And now gentlemen, I trust that you will not think that I unduly indulge in

the inveterate habit of the people of this "Kingdom of Bombay" to consider ourselves superior to all the rest of the country when, in view of the active and passive opposition offered in past years in other parts to the measures for accommodating the Congress, I congratulate myself on the fact that the account given by Sir Wiliam Hunter in his book on Lord Reay's Administration as to the character of the relations between Europeans and Indians in this Presidency has been amply borne out by the way in which we have been helped in securing the best sites available in Bombay for our manifold purposes. We have received kindly and generous assistance from officials and non-officials alike in a spirit of broadminded liberality, justifying Sir Wiliam Hunter's observation, that "the competition of races, although, as keen as in any other Province, is here tempered by common interests, mutual forbearance, and a certain reciprocal respect which impart a moderation to Bombay public opinion and to the Bombay Press in political crises." The *Pioneer* said the other day that we shall presently denounce the Government that so kindly lent us the Oval as wicked. Let me assure it, that we in Bombay, however, use no violent language; and when we have to criticize Government, for even the *Pioneer* will not insist that it is beyond criticism, we will only call it erring and misguided.

IS IT AN EVANESCENT TAMASHA?

But when I complacently congratulate ourselves on securing the best and healthiest sites for this year's Congress, I approach the question of this Pavilion and of the Encampment for your residence with some amount of nervousness. We have been told by some candid friend, or, if they will pardon me for saying so, by some critics who profess to be our friends only to be able to criticize us the more effectively, that we are only spasmodically wasting our energies, that this Congress gathering is only a show and a saturnalia of uncouth oratory, and that we are wantonly and extravagantly throwing away on an evanescent *tamasha*, monies which could be devoted to more solid and useful purposes. Now this criticism strikes me, gentlemen, as very much like the criticism applied by Revenue officers to the impoverished ryot when they try to explain away agrarian indebtedness by the extravagance of his expenditure on festive and mourning occasions. As a matter of fact, the extravagance of the ordinary ryot on such occasions consists only in a few brass ornaments, a few sweetmeats and an unlimited amount of tomtom. So is it with us. Our Pavilion is not a gothic temple with marble pillars and tesselated floors; it is a structure of unhewn posts and canvas decorated with strips of cheap muslin of Congress colors to look gay. We have not housed you in palatial buildings; the canvas camp in which you are lodged has all and more than all the severity of military exigences in a far campaign. To the amounts thus spent, our kind friends insist upon adding the travelling charges, as if all

the delegates would never have during Christmas stirred out of their houses to enjoy the Christmas holidays, even if they were not attending the Congress. But even taking the whole total thus added up, I venture, gentlemen, to say boldly that all this and much more would be well-spent for fulfilling the purpose for which the Congress has been organized, and for achieving the aim and end for which the Congress is constituted. To those who decry the moneys spent upon it as moneys wasted on a show and a *tamasha*, I would say that they are no more men of real insight and true imagination than those whom one of the greatest of English poets—Wordsworth—has described with such infinite pity for their incapacity to enter into the true inwardness of things :—

> A primrose by the river brim,
> A yellow primrose is to him,
> And it is nothing more.

THE MISSION OF THE CONGRESS.

But if you realize it clearly and fully, there is no purpose more important, no mission more sacred, than the one that the Congress fulfils in the three short days to which it confines its session. It would be absurd to say that the Congress meets to deliberate or discuss and dicide all the important subjects with which it deals. That task must be and is largely performed in the course of the year by such institutions as we may possess for forming Indian public opinion, in the common intercourse of social life, in local bodies more or less active, in the native Press which is undoubtedly daily growing more and more capable and potent. At the end of the year we all meet together from different parts of the country, representatives of the people, not selected it is true, by any authoritative or scientific process, but still representatives in all the various ways in which virtual representation works itself out in the early stages of its progressive development, representatives who are of the people and in immediate touch and contact with them, representatives realizing in themselves the wants, the wishes, the sentiments, the aspiration of the people, representatives whose education has qualified them to ponder over grave questions of policy and principle in their application to the administration and Government of this country in all their complex relations of a foreign rule, representatives into whom education has stilled an earnest, devoted, and enlightened loyalty to the British Crown and a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence of the British Empire in which, they are firmly persuaded, lie implanted the roots of the welfare, the prosperiy and the good Government of this country, I say, we delegates, representatives of the people, meet together at the end of the year to give voice to the public opinion of the country taking shape and formulating throughout the year, to present our Petition of Rights, our Grand Remonstrance, our appeal and our prayer for a firm and unfaltering grasp of a policy of

wisdom and righteousness, for the reversal of retrograde measures inconsistent with such a policy and for the adoption of means steadily ensuring the gradual development of free potitical progress.

" Broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent. "

Such an appeal and such a prayer can be most effectively offered at a great gathering like this by the unanimous voice of Delegates assembling from all parts of the country. If gentlemen, we did nothing more than make this solemn petition and this earnest prayer, we shall not have laboured for nought.

ITS ACHIEVEMENTS.

But we are told that we have done this for long and we have done this in vain. I absolutely dispute both these propositions. Has this Congress really grown old and grey, and has it really effected nothing ? I reply that the Congress has not yet attained its majoriy ; I reply that the surest testimony to the value of its achievements, direct and indirect, and the force of its influence, is to be found in the very policy of reaction and retrogression which it has from time to time provoked, the tide following each successive ebb of which policy takes us, you may be sure, further and further on the path of progress and emancipation. To estimate this position rightly, let me lay before you the confession of faith of a devout and irreclaimable Congressman like myself. I am an inveterate, I am a robust optimist like my late friend Mahadeva Govind Ranade. I believe in divine guidance through human agency. It may be the fatalism, of the East, but it is an active, not a passive fatalism, a fatalism which recognizes that the human wheels of the machinery must actively work to fulfil their appointed task. My humility saves me from the despair that seizes more impatient souls like those who have recently preached a gospel of despondency—I always seek hope and consolation in the words of the poet :

" I have not made the world and He that has made will guide. "

I derive patience from the same poets'teaching

" My faith is large in time, and that which shapes it to some perfect end."

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

My steadfast loyalty is founded upon this rock of hope snd patience. Seeking the will of Providence, like Oliver Cromwell, indispensations rather than revelations, seeing God's will like him in fulfilment of events, I accept British rule, as Ranade did, as a dispensation so wonderful, a little island set at one end of the world establishing itself in a far continent as different as different could be, that it would be folly not to accept it as a declaration of God's will. But, as I have often said, when, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence this country was assigned to the care of England, the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old :

"Behold I have placed before you a blessing if ye will obey the Commandments of the Lord your God; a curse if ye will not obey the Commandments of the Lord your God; but go after other Gods whom ye have not known." The possession of India would be a blessing to England if administered in the spirit of righteouseness; a curse if in the seductive spirit of worldliness. We cordially confess that in the main England has chosen wisely and well. The great and far-seeing statesmen who presided at the consolidation of British rule in India proclaimed that the declared policy of the Crown in India should be one of righteousness and they firmly and unequivocally announced it by the voice of the great and good Queen who then wore the Crown. But the acceptance and announcement of a policy of righteousness is one thing, its application another. The adhesion to such a policy is not determined in a day, it is not established without a long struggle between the forces of righteousness and those of worldliness, like unto the struggle between Hormazd and Ahriman. Even the chosen people of the Hebrew God continually relapsed, in spite of solemn covenants, into the worship of the Gods of idolatry. Therefore it is that, while the oscillations and vicissitudes of the struggle go on, the hope expressed by the Viceroy in the reply to the address of the Bombay Corporation and echoed by Lord Ampthill before the Madras Corporation that there may be no two parties about England in India is premature and practically futile. Such a hope is unreasonable and impracticable, while the pledges about equality of the Great Proclamation of 1858 are kept in the letter and broken in the spirit, while the distinctions of race, colour and creed abolished by our Magna Charta are reintroduced under the plausible guise of being distinctions based on the distinctive merits and qualifications inherent in race, while the burdens of Imperial Empire, which should be borne by the Empire including the Colonies, are disproportionately and heavily thrown on Indian finances, while attempt after attempt is made to pass on to the Indian Exchequer Military expenditure supposed to be necessitated by the vulnerable position of India, but really designed to meet supposed imperialistic exigencies, while the Indian subjects of His Majesty are allowed to be deprived of their rights of equal citizenship in the undisguised interests of the white races against the dark in a way which responsible Ministers of the Crown gravely declared furnished a just cause of war against the Boers while the economic relations between the two countries are adjusted more in the interests of the predominant than of the important partner, while the development of the industries of the country is neglected or hampered for fear of competition with English industries, while the "consuming love" for India in the breasts of the rulers has more the colour and character of affection towards a foster-

child or a step-son than the equal and engrossing love for a natural son, while the results of a really *bona fide* and laborious Commission like the Public Service Commission, imperfect as they were, are attempted to be set aside and restricted by autocratic action, while the percentages of the admission of natives into the public service are estimated, not by the only true test of comparison with the promises made and rights established after public enquiry and deliberate action, but by the increases and decreases with those of years long previous to such pledges and promises, totally ignoring the recognition of subsequent years of "the just claims of the natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service," as stated in the Resolution of the Government of India appointing the Public Service Commission, while the people are being emasculated by the wholesale operation of the Arms Act to the future detriment of the interest of both England and India, while the small modicum of independence possessed by the Indian Universities is ruthlessly annihilated, and the Universities turned substantially into departments of Government, so that the breeding of the discontented B. A. that distinct political danger," may be stopped or limited, and while—but it is not needful to go on any further. We thus see that the hope of there being no two parties about England in India is not founded in the realities of the situation. It is another form of the same advice that has been also recently showered upon us by Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors that there should be no political agitation in this country. I wish to speak with all respect for these disinterested advisers; but I cannot help comparing them to that delightful "Poor man's friend" Sir John Bowley so admirably depicted by Dickens:—

"Your only business, my good fellow, is with me. You needn't trouble yourself to think about anything. I will think for you: I know what is good for you; I am your perpetual Parent. Such is the dispensation of an all wise Providence. * * * What man can do, I do. I do my duty as the Poor Man's Friend and Father; and I endeavour to educate his mind, by inculcating on all occasions the one great lesson which that class requires, that is, entire Dependence on myself. They have no business whatever with themselves." I venture to say that to accept this advice would be equally demoralizing to the rulers and the ruled. It ignores all the laws of human progress, it ignores the workings of human nature, it ignores environment and surroundings. We may be as well told to cease to breathe to think or to feel. Political agitation there will always be. The only question is whether we should suppress and bottle up our feelings and hopes and aspirations and our grievances in the innermost recesses of our own hearts, in the secret conclaves of our own brethren, or deal with them in the free light of open day. The former course would be

preferred by the prophets of despair. We, gentlemen, prefer the latter, be cause we have faith in the ultimate wisdom, beneficence, and righteousness of the English people. Curiously enough gentlemen, this advice to cease political agitation found an echo, where one would have least expected it, in a cornor of Bengal. To our astonishment, we were one day treated to a homily at a Provincial Conference in that Presidency on the thesis that subject races could have no politics. We were exhorted to abandon them in favour of Industrial and Scientific Organisations. I trust gentlemen, I will not be taken to under-value the good work done in establishing the Association for the Advancement of Industrial Science; it is already doing excellent work in conferring various industrial and technical scholarships of Rs. 100 and more. But I may be allowed to say that when I read the reports of the public meeting at which the Association was inaugurated, I could not help wondering whether our European friends who were actively supporting the movement were doing so with the hope of weaning our Bengali brethren from the bad habit to which they are supposed to be specially addicted of excessive political agitation or whether our Bengali friends were endeavouring to coax their European friends to help them by specious professions of giving up their favourite vice and turning out reformed characters. I will abstain, however, from attributing motives as we are now perpetually advised to do by those who preach but never practise the virtue. It is needless to seriously controvert the thesis advanced by these Bengali friends, utterly unhistoric and unmanly as it is. If they will pardon me, I will only tell them how I regard them. They seem to be the Esaus of Bengal, ready to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage. However fragrant and nourishing that pottage may be represented to be, we will not sell our birth-right for it. But I am sure that there is no difficulty in retaining both the one and the other, the birth-right as well as the pottage.

THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM.

But, gentlemen, let us go back to the pendulum which we have left to oscillate between righteousness and wordliness for too long a time, and see how far the Congress has worked in propelling it in the right direction. Never had the pendulum oscillated so violently as in Lord Lytton's time. The policy of righteousness was openly scoured, It was declared that having won India by breaking all the Ten Commandments, it was too late to govern it on the principle of the Sermon on the Mount. The country was thrown into a state of doubt and perplexity, of alarm and uneasiness. From this unfortunate position it is rescued by the advent of Lord Ripon. In him we get back the true old English statesman, wise in his noble generosity and far-sighted in his righteousness,

Englishmen will never know the true value of Lord Ripon's services to British rule. He added buttresses of enduring strength to the citadel of our loyalty. It is to him we owe that the darkest days of gloom and reaction we always confidently look forward to rays of light and hope. Except perhaps the great measure of local self-government, and that of the Bengal Tenancy Act, which was intensely unpopular with Zemindars of Bengal, he conferred no impossible boons or charters on us. He did not tell us, as the present Viceroy did in his last Budget speech that "I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought in the field of politics at the present stage of her development and it is not my conception to earn a cheap applause by offering so called boons for which the country is not ready and for which my successors and not I would have to pay the price." Neither was it Lord Ripon's conception of statesmanship, nor did he confer any boons for which the country was not ripe. But, again to use the words of the self-same speech, he heartily and genuinely sympathised with the real and progressive sympathy of true Liberalism as Mr. Morley recently defined it in America, and not with the narrow prejudice of conservative fear and mistrust of all progress and liberty, "with the aspirations of the Indians towards greater national unity and with their desire to play a part in the public life of the country." As these twofold sentiments are enunciated in the Budget speech, there is confusion, instead of correlation between them. Why is the salvation of India not to be sought, at least partially, on the field of politics at all times now and hereafter, if official sympathy with Indian aspirations and desire to play a part in the public life of this country, is deep and genuine? How can these aspirations and desires be even gradually achieved unless we are allowed to play at all times a modest and temperate part on the field of politics? And I venture to say it is unfair and unjust to charge us with desiring to play any but a most modest and temperate part of the field of politics, and to warn us off altogether from it. How easily we are satisfied, when we are assured sympathetic and righteous treatment by a frank and convinced acceptance of the principles of policy underlying the pledges and promises given to us, is shown by the fact that little as he actually did for us, Lord Ripon's name and fame are reverently and imperishably cherished in the hearts of the millions of this country. The establishment of the Congress was almost synchronous with the departure of Lord Ripon from this country. Ever since then, we have been endeavouring to formulate and place before Government measures upon which the country has come almost to an unanimous opinion as needed for the purpose of redressing grievances as well as promoting the legitimate welfare and progress of the people. It is a task which we under-

took under a strong sense of duty. If as the Viceroy eloquently said in his last Budget speech, "the country and its educated classes were making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress," it would have been a grave dereliction of duty if they had not come forward on the field of politics and, as I now repeat, what I repeated before, if they had not devoted their new culture and their energy to the task, not of supplanting their rulers, but of supplementing the endeavours of the best and most sagacious among them by proposing modifications and developments based on the peculiar, intuitive, and native knowledge and information, and suggested in gratitude and loyalty by that enlightenment and education which we freely admit has been one of the most precious gifts bestowed upon us by British rule. A wise and prudent statesman would so encourage us in performing this task by kindly sympathy and advice as to compel us, so to say, to perform it with anxious care and moderation. To me it seems a grave political blunder to engender bitterness and excess by treating the Congress with dislike and resentment. It is for this reason that I deplore the attitude of our English friends towards the Congress. They have failed to understand the somewhat curious phenomenon, which they have recently observed, of some of our co-workers condemning the Congress for its disappointing inutility, and they have exultingly pointed out that this condemnation has proceeded from what has been considered the extreme wing of the Congress, and they have received their denunciations of us with cheers. But let our rulers try to reallize that the men whom they cheer do not possibly desire to abandon altogether the field of politics, but may in time be carried away vainly to imagine that the failure of constitutional methods like those of the Congress were an argument to substitute others not so strictly temperate. However that may be, I repeat now, as before, that we of the Congress, have always steadily and firmly conceived our mission to be imposed by duty, sanctified by patriotism and guided by loyalty, unswayed by the resentment of our rulers, or by the dispairing counsels of the pessimists among ourselves. Therefore it is that our mission has been blest and our labours have not been in vain.

OUR RECORD.

I thus come back to relate the record of the achievements of the Congress. I can do so briefly, as it has been excellently summarised, in the last number of "India," a paper whose valuable services to our cause, have not, I am afraid, been so fully appreciated as they have deserved, showing how imperfect are we ourselves,—a good thing to remember, especially when we are engaged in criticizing others. Our earliest efforts were directed towards securing a platform from which we could authoritatively expound our views,

and they bore fruit in 1892 in the passing of the Indian Councils Act for enlarging and expanding the Councils, and substantially and practically introducing the principle of election in the appointment of their members. The voice of the Congress was potent in obtaining the Commission for enquiring into Indian Expenditure. Our demand for Simultaneous Examinations for the Indian Civil Service was so far seccessful that Mr. Paul's motion in favour of it was accepted by the House of Commons. The strenuous opposition to reduce the motion into practice offered by the Indian Government has hitherto prevailed. We had however obtained the Public Service Commission whose recommendations though not going far enough as we desired, and further throttled by the Government of India, still laid down priciples from which alas, it is now attempted to retreat by autocratic action without any new public enquiry or deliberation. We have also urgently pressed upon the attention of Government, perhaps the most far-reaching and anxious problem of Indian administration, the economic problem of the poverty of the people and its concomitant agrarian indebtedness; and though Government fight shy of the only true remedies, it is still a hopeful sign to see them labouring to discover less unpalatable solutions of the problem. Following upon the half-hearted trial of agricultural banks long suggested by us we may still induce them to grant the equiry so influentially recommended by the Indian Famine Union. Very early in our history we proved so conclusively the essential desirability in the interests of sound and just administration of the separation of judicial and executive functions that a statesman like Lord Dufferin felt constrained to admit it to be a counsel of perfection, and we have so far succeeded that now it is only on the score of expense that the change is ostensibly shelved, the real reason being the strong disinclination of District Officers to part with power once enjoyed, as if Revenue Officers did not possess pover enough and to spare, with stringent Land Revenue Codes and the jealous exclusion of the jurisdiction of Civil Courts in revenue matters. One of the earliest subjects which engaged the attention of the Congress was the urgent need of a thorough reform and reorganization of the Police Commission published in England has ultimately borne out the natienal view of the character of the force against the official view which continued to insist that the aspersions to which the police was popularly subject were largely unjust and undeserved. In this connexion I may be permitted to say one word as to the bureaucratic policy now in vogue with regard to the reports of and evidence taken by so-called Commision. Formerly the reports and evidence were immediately issued to give time for public discussion and criticism before Government proceeded to deal with them. At St Andrew's

Dinner at Calcutta the other day Sir Andrew Fraser vindicated the new policy not only with regard to the report of the Police Commission, but with regard also to other important subjects engaging the attention of Government, stating as an axiomatic truth that no statement could be properly made in regard to them till the decision of the Secretary of State for India was received. It seems to benighted non officials like us that this course is an exaggeration of the demoralized attitude of a secret and irresponsible bureaucracy as Sir C. Dilke called it. The Secretary of State in this way arrives at a decision under the inspiration of the Government of India without the benefit of open and public discussion. And we know how hopeless it is to expect any modification of the decrees issued by the Secretary of State from subsequend discussion and criticism. Indeed in such cases we are gravely told that it would be sacrilegious to touch with profane hands the tablets sent down from Mont Sinai. The mischief thus done is so incalculable, that I would fain take the liberty to ask the bureaucrats of our Indian administration to ponder on the observations of one of the ablest and keenest of political thinkers—Mr. Walter Begehot—"Not only" says he, "does a bureaucracy tend to under-Government in point of quality, it tends to over-Government in point of quantity. The trained official hates the rude, untrained public. He thinks they are stupid, ignorant, reckless—that they cannot tell their own interest. A bureaucracy is sure to think that its duty is to augment official power, official business, or official members rather than leave free the energies of mankind; it over-does the quantity of Government as well as impairs its quality." These words were spoken of bureaucracy in civilized Europeen countries. They apply with ten-fold force in this country with its Official Secrets Act, which it is a mistake to suppose is inert while it does not explode in public prosecutions. The Act puts a premium on corruption, on the one hand, and on the other it surely and inevitably deteriorats snd demoralizes irresponsible officials working in the dark. To resume our narrative of the achievements of the Congress. We were the first, in spite of spurious claims to the honor, to draw attention in view of the poverty of the agricultural masses to the need of technical and industrial education, and of the people as well as Government. In this connexion, I trust that the sheme of an Institute of Research may not be allowed to fail on account of the death of Mr. Tata, a death the whole country deplores, but may soon become an accomplished fact, a magnificent monument of the patriotism and munificence of its author. We have also pressed upon Government the great cause of temperance. We advocated from the first reduction in the oppressive burden of the Satl-tax and the raising of the asses-

sable minimum of the Income Tax, both which reforms have been recentlp carried out. I think I need not proceed further with my enumeration. It in an honorable record. It is a record which leaves no room for disapointment or despair. But further, as is again well pointed out in "India," what is particularly apt to be over-looked that "we are by no mesns sure but the greatest work of all is its negative work, where the results do not appear in any particular reform or political change." And I may well repeat here, to cheer our hearts and brace our energies, the beautiful lines quoted by Mr. Hume in his letter to us published in "India,"

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seemed here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent flooding in, the main,"

Laden with these gains, the Cogress comes back to "its own native land." I well remember the day when we launched it anxiously, but hopefully, 15 years ago. When it came back to us in 1889, a babe only five years old, it had already broadened and strengthened wonderfully It again comes back to us fifteen years after, a handsome lad on the point of attaining his majority. It has not escaped some jealously and rialry. Other children whom we are assured were pretty and handsome have been pressed upon us as deserving our love and affection. Well, gentlemen, our hearts are largo and our minds are broad, and what we have done is that we have incontinently adopted them all. One, you will see in this very pandal, a gentle and solemn little lady in a grave gathering assembling immediately after us. Another you will see, robust and vigorous, decorated with jewel and ornament wrought in this very country, on the Oval yonder. But, gentlemen, our affections remain unchanged from our eldest-born, and we refuse to deprive him of his rights of primogeniture.

CONCLUSION.

I think, gentlemen, I have said enough to show that we have met here together from all parts of the country to pursue a noble mission, hallowed to us from a sense of duty, of patriotism, and of loyalty, all welded together by the principles of justice and righteousness which, after all is said and done, we gratefully recognize as the dominant principles of English rule in this country. We truly and earnestly respond to the words in which Lord Curzon adjured us the other day on his landing—"I pray, I pray the Native Community in India, to believe in the good faith, in the high honor, and in the upright purpose of my coutrymen." Gentlemen, it is because we do sincerly believe in that good faith, in that high honor and that upright purpose, that we meet here in the open light of day to appeal to their noble and righteous impulses, by all lawful and constitu-

tional means so to discharge the sacred trust reposed in them by Providence, that it may redound to the glory and greatness of both countries. But I must be pardoned for saying that when we respond to this prayer, we do not respond to it in the slavish spirit in which the great Earl of Strafford exhorted, the people of England to obey the king: "Let them attend upon his will with confidence in his justice, belief in his wisdom, and assurance in his parental affections." We respond to it rather in the spirit of an ideal sketched—I will take an extremely modern instance—by a highly placed Anglo-Indian Civil Servant whom,—though you will be perhaps surprised to hear it—I venture to describe as a Congresswala in disguise, at eloquent and as far-reaching as some of our own elders, say Surendranath Bannerjee or Lalmohan Ghose. I refer to Sir William Lee-Warner. At an address delivered by him at the Elphinstone College Union, Sir William Lee-Warner eloquently depicted the ideal towards which British rule in India was tending :—

"It is no narrow principle of a paternal Government or a rule for the benefit of the ruler which sent forth the Roman with his poet's sailing orders.

Tu regere imperio pupulos Romane memento, or which fostered differences as aiding the central authority, *Divede et impera*. Its aim is less to govern than to call forth the progressive capacity and to teach self-government. It desires to lift up the lower ranks of society and the subject to the pedestal of the ruler. 'Humanity' and 'Heaven's light our guide,' are its watch words, and they are embodied in your *Magna Charta*, the Queen's Proclamation, issued by the ruler whose authority had just been defined and restored by the sword. * * There are three supreme ideas of mankind, the family, the nation and humanity. The Hindu and the Greek ruler thought of the first, the Roman empire of the second; but the British nation accepts the last and highest as its ruling idea. * * I venture to point out to you that from God's nature the British nation has learnt the grand idea of humanity, and that the legislation and administratien of India under the Queen bears testimony to Her Majesty's desire to recognize a progressive future as before all those committed to her care. The protection of the week, equality in the eye of the law, justice, and a commou participation in the benefits, and when the time comes in the task of good government are at least the aims which the British Government sets before it."

It is in the active spirit of this ideal that we respond and respond cordially to Lord Curzon's prayer to believe in the good faith, in the high honnor, and in the upright purpose of his countrymen. May we pray in return that when we ask to be allowed to co-operate in this noble task, that Lord Curzon and his countrymen will believe that we too of

the Congress are inspired by duty, patriotism and loyalty.

I again tender to you my warmest welcome—a welcome mixed of gratitude for the past and high hope for the future with Patience and Perseverance for our motto. Let us take to our hearts the homely but noble words of Longfellow:—

"Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait."

The Indian National Congress.

PRESIDENTAL ADDRESS.

(*26th December* 1904.)

The following is the full text of the Address delivered by Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I, at the Twentieth Session of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay to-day:—

Delegates to the Indian National Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It was well said by one of my predecessors in this chair that the Presidency of the Indian National Congress was the greatest honour that could be conferred by the people of India on one of their own countrymen. I feel that the honour is even greater when it is bestowed on one who is not of your own race or country. I have good reason to be proud of the position in which you have placed me this afternoon. Although I must always be aware that one of your own body would more worthily and adequately discharge the functions of the office, and am conscious that it must be more appropriate for an Indian to preside at the Indian National Congress than an Englishman, I received your invitation to come here as the highest compliment

you could pay me, and accepted it not only with a deep sense of responsibility, but also of gratitude and pride in this noteable and public recognition of the humble services I have been able to render to India.

Character of the Congress.

This is the Twentieth Annual Session of the Indian National Congress, an organisation avowedly national in its name and scope. We meet for the furtherance and discussion of national interest. I see before me a vast number of delegates—the number is deliberately limited for convenience sake—representatives of every community, of every rank and profession, as well as religion. Met together are the political leaders of all parts of India. Here you are able to act in and to declare in no uncertain accents the common public opinion of the multitudes of whom you are the monthpiece· You occupy a vantage ground of no mean eminence. Here are the voice and brain of the country. Here, before me, are gathered the representative citizens of a great nation. Yours is a position which no failure in your projects and no neglect of your advice can nullify. You are assembled together—highly trained Zoroastrians, wealthy and energetic natives of Cutch and Guzerat, citizens of this splendid city who mould its destinies alike in commerce and in intellectual pursuits ;brilliant and patriotic Mahratta exulting in the glory of your past and your ancestors ; Brahmins from Madras, with your keen and subtle intelligence Babus from Bengal, strenuous and able, rule and control public opinion from Peshawar to Chittagong; representatives from the Punjab and the United and Central Provinces ; Hindus who are exercising an almost indescribable influence by virtue of the living Hinduism which lies at the heart of your national existence and followers of Islam, comparatively less in numbers but animated by the zeal and vigour and austerity which have always characterised the religious history of your race. We are met here in this great representative assembly to lay before the public and the Government a practical programme of policy which covers, I believe, most of the important political and economic problems of the Indian Empire. We do not pretend to prepare any such policy within these walks. The work of educating public opinion is carried on throughout the year, and year by year, by means of the Press and the proceedings of local political bodies and Associations. The work is fostered by the pronouncements and speeches of representative Indians who are afforded the opportunity, rare and seldom though it be, of uttering their countries voice in the Council Chambers of the State. In these ways public opinion is formed, a national policy is framed, and in due course it is crystallised into a definite shape. It is our function at the annual meetings of the Indian National Congres to give united and authoritative expres-

sion to views on which there is already a consensus of opinion in the country. We are met to-day for such a purpose, and for this duty no organisation is more qualified and none could better be fitted than our own.

LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS.

The Indian National Congress has thus its own functions, which I take it upon myself to say, as a watchful eye-witness from its birth, it has discharged with excemplary fidelity, judgment, and moderation. Yours is a distinguished past. If you have not in any considerable measure succeeded in moulding the policy of Government, you have exercised an immence influence in developing the history of your country and the character of your countrymen. You have become a power in the land and your voice peals like a trumpet note from one end of India to the other. Your illustrious leaders have earned a niche in the Temple of Fame, and their memory will be cherished by a grateful posterity. Foremost among them I place the venerable figure of your grand old ex-President, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who now in the evening of his life, at the age of foursecore years, applies himself with unremitting energy and patriotism to your cause. Among those who are lost to us, preneminent is Mahadev Govind Ranade, the wise in counsel whose death we do not cease to mourn. Nor will I omit the name of the late Manomohun Gose, who has set before us a conspicuous example of practical and re-constructive effort. We have still with us our distinguished Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Pherozesha Mehta, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the first of our Presidents, Mr. Justice Buddrudin Tyabji, Mr justice Sankaran Nair, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, Babu Surenda Bannerjee, and Messrs. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Why need I mention more names? They are all household words, not only in this Congress camp, but in hall and hamlet, in the palace and in the cottage. Their leadership in India is ably supplemented by the labours of the British Committee of the Congress in England, and it is impossible to speak in terms of too high praise in the self-sacrificing devotion of Mr. Hume and of Sir William Wedderburn, whom it is a pleasure and honour to welcome to-day in our midst. The name of Mr. Hume will always be associated with the origin and growth, the mingled triumphs and defects of the Indian National Congress. Sir William Wedderburn's unrivalled familiarity with the details of Indian political work in the United Kingdom and his exceptional knowledge of the Bombay Presidency are of the utmost utility to us at the present time. The late Mr. William Digby was not a member of the British Committee, but he was an Englishman devoted in an extraordinary degree to Indian interests; his whole life, indeed was given up to the cause of India, and I desire from this place to commemorate his services and to acknowledge the

profound loss India has sustained by his death.

Patience and perservance, persistence in good repute and evil repute earnestness and resolution, these are the attributes of the leaders of a national movement. I make bold to say that they are the qualities which your leaders possess. You may well be proud of them. But the victory cannot be won by leaders only. It is for their followers to give them their loyal and undivided support. You cannot all be leaders. Captains and generals are few in number; the plan of the campaign is designed by them, but success is assured by the obedience and discipline of the rank and file. I speak in no unfriendly spirit when I warn you of the risks you run by pitty enternal bickerings and dissensions, by unworthy jealousies and ignoble depreciation of life-long labours of the foremost men of your generation. It is here I lay my finger on the weakness of your organisation. These signs of frailty are natural, inevitable in the nascent growth of your movement. But they are none the less corroding and dangerous symptoms the existence of which is undoubted, and which it is, at all costs, the duty of all of you who have the glow of patriotism in your hearts firmly to suppress and credicate.

ENGLAND AND INDIA.

It is true that the reforms we advocate depend for the most part on their adoption by public opinion in England. Recall the case for Ireland! Internal agitation in Ireland was the necessary stepping-stone of reform, but by itself it accomplished little: it was only when Irish agitation forced itself upon English Liberal statesmen and was supplemented by a powerful phalanx of opinion in England, that any concessions were allowed to the sister island. And so it is in the case of India. The opportunity of a peacefnl solution rests in both cases with the English people, who alone have it in their hands to effect a material modification in the attitude of Government through the pressure of public opinion from the Mother Country. In this lies the value of your British Committee in London. Perhaps you do not always recognise the services which have been rendered to your cause by the untiring exertions of the members of that Committee, who unceasingly place the Indian view of Indian affairs before the British public by means of Parliament, the Press and the platform. The work of this Committee deserves from you more generous support than it has received. It is from this point of view also, that lies the importance of increasing the representation in Parliament of those who are not only possessed of an adequate knowledge of Indian affairs, but are also imbued with a hearty sympathy for the grievances and aspirations of the Indian people. You owe a deep debt of gratitude to those honourable members who are always willing to press Indian questions upon the House, of whom I would especially mention Messrs. Schwann and Roberts. Mr. Caine, alas!

is lost to us; but I need not tell you that the number of men in the preesent House of Commons who combine this knowledge and sympathy may be counted on the fingers of one hand. Remember that it is in the House of Commons that the great questions on which the fate of India depends must be ultimately decided.

MEMBERS FOR INDIA.

We want more Members for India. Yes, indeed! But remember also that the use of that phrase cannot but ring a delusive note. Do not deceive yourselves or expect too much. We want to hear more of India in the House of Commons. We want members of the House who will devote themselves to India as an integral and not the least important part of the British dominions as a portion of the Empire which is not directly represented, and calls, therefore, for their special attention; but we cannot expect from them that undivided devotion to Indian interests to which we are so accustomed in this country from our own leaders. Sir Henry Fowler once declared that all the members of the House of Commons were members for India, but this is the very apotheosis of cant, and we have only to present in the gallery of the House when Indian questions are under discussion to realise that no statement could be further from the truth. India returns no representatives to Parliament; and even the most friendly members for Parliamentary constituencies are not returned to represent India in the House, but their own constituents. They never can be members for India in the strict sense of the expression, for the first claim upon a member of the House of Commons is, and always must be, held upon him by his constituents.

THE FUNCTIONS OF PARLIAMENT.

Remember, also, what are the relations between the Imperial Parliament and the Indian Governmet. "It is not our business," said Mr. Gladstone on a memorable occasion, "to advise what machinery the Indian Government should use. It is our business to give to those representing her Majesty's Government in India ample information as to what we believe to be sound principles of government. It is also the duty and function of this House to comment upon any cause in which we think the authorities in India have failed to give due effect to those principles; but in the discharge of their high administrative functions, or as to the choice of means, there is no doubt that that should be left in their hands." These words convey a wise warning that the duty of England towards India is to form convictions on the general policy which should guide the Government and to stimulate and strengthen and control the authorities in putting them into practice. They do not imply any abnegation of the responsibilities of Parliament for the good government of India, and there is little echo in them of the

pitiful appeal of the Indian bureaucracy to preserve India from Parliamentary interference. But they are a timely reminder to us that the function of Parliament is not to make any attempt to extend its direct rule to India, and that the details of administration must be left to the local authorities, upon whom must rest the personal responsibility of giving effect to the general principles which are laid down for their guidance.

THE OPPORTUNITIES OF A GENERAL ELECTION.

All these are qualifications which it is necessary for us to bear in mind, but the great enduring fact remains that the Parliament of Great Britain and the people of England are the final arbiters of India's destinies. It is not in India itself that the fate of India will ultimately be determined. Those are blind, and worse than blind, who ignore or depreciate the importance of the work that devolves on your English associates and on the delegates whom you may send from India to educate and build up the growth of English public opinion in regard to India. The present is one of those critical periods that recur every few years. No one can say precisely when a General Election will take place. But every-one knows that it cannot be much longer delayed, and in all human probability the interval between the twenty-first Congress will witness that great upheaval to which we are looking forward in party politics at home, the expulsion of the present Government from office and the formation of another in its place, the appointment of a Liberal Secretary of State for India, and the beginning of a period during which it is reasonable to expect, not only the undoing of many of the mistakes committed during ten dark years of reaction, but also some definite advance in the work of reconstruction. We stand at the parting of the ways. We see before us a period of hope, of which for so long we have been unable to catch a gleam. But in order that this period may be rendered fruitful much will need to be done and assuredly one of the first and most important things is that the Indian National Congress should clearly and emphatically put forward its proposals, and make all necessary preparations for an epoch-marking campaign.

THE GROWTH OF A NATIONAL SPIRIT.

What is the great political problem that lies before? What is the real meaning of the movement which has brought you together to-day and animates your thoughts and action? It is the consciousness that your organisation is a national one, and that you are working together in the formation of a national movement with common sentiments of interest and patriotism. The different races, the numberless castes, classes, and creeds of India are welded together in your ranks. This is primarily the result of education, the inestimable boon which, in accordance with a noble and liberal policy, England has extended to India. It is education, and education on English

methods and on the lines of Western civilisation, that has served to unite the varying forces among the Indian populations. The English language is the channel through which you are now able to meet on a common platform, and to give expression to your common interests and aspirations. At the same time the railways, the steamships, the post office and the telegraph have played their part in closing the gap that used to keep the different provinces of India asunder. I rejoice to see that this great movement is fully recognised by your countrymen. It advances by leaps and bounds. The unmistakable yearning for nationality finds its utterance through a newspaper press, which has now become a potent factor in your politics. I have watched the growth of this Press, rising in little more than one generation, from struggling, obscure, and fitful efforts, into an organ of great power, criticising the measures of Government with remarkable independence and vigour, and continually checking the abuses of executive authority. I am not blind to its imperfections, but it is impossible not to admire the ability and patriotism with which it is conducted. The unanimity of this Press is as marked as the increase of its influeuce, The whole of its influence is in the direction of national lisation. A single note is struck. In every large town in India newspapers are now published, identical in their spirit and in their common object, all aiming and converging at the formation of a single political ideal.

The growth of a national spirit is the touchstone of your organisation. This assemblage of delegates to an Indian Natoinal Congress is the decisive evidence of a national movement. The growth of an Indian nation is the great political revolution that is working before our eyes. There is no doubt of its meaning, its character, or its destination. It involes the introduction of no anarchical element into India's future: there is no sign of any rupture with the past. We know, indeed, that the present form of British administration cannot be permanent. The Right Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose memory is still revered in this Presidency, where he ruled as Governor for eight years, wrote as long ago as 1850 :—

"I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation produced by a difference in religion, ideas, and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communions with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things. I conceive, also, that the progresss of education among the Natives renders such a scheme impracticable even if it were otherwise free from objection."

Every thinking man must know that these words are true. But we know also that the connection between India and England will not be snapped. The English language, while it is the means

of enabling you to attain unity, binds you also to Great Britain. The future of Inda is linked with that of England, and it is to England that India must always look for guidance, assitance, and protection in her need.

A COMPLEX PROBLEM.

We have to deal with a problem of extraordinary difficulty and complexity We are face to face with a great upheval which has revolutionised all departments of thought, inspired the aspirations of diverse communities, and infused the sense of nationality throughout a vast and surging empire. I have just quoted the words of a sagacious and eminent Anglo-Indian, uttered more than fifty years ago. I will supplement them by a quotation from one who is universally recognised as the gratest and most successful of Britain's pro-consuls. More than twenty years have now elapsed since Lord Cromer said :—

"No one who watches the sings of the times in India with even moderate care can doubt that we have entered upon a period of change. The spread of education, the increasing influence of a free Press, the substitution of legal for discretionary administration, the progress of railways and telegraphs, the easier communication with Europe, and the more ready influx of European ideas, are beginnig to produce a marked effcet upon the people. New ideas are springing up. New aspirations are being called forth. The power of public opinion is growing daily. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of Government, and especially of a despotic Government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind. To move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still. The problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress, raw and superficial as in many respects it is, so as to direcit it into the right course, and to derive from it all the benefits which its development is capable of ultimately conferring upon the country, and at the same time to prevent it from becoming, through blind indifference or stupid repression, a source of serious political danger. It is only what ought to be excepted by every thoughtful man, that, after fifty years of free Press and thirty years of expanding education, with European ideas flowing into the country on every side and, old indigenous customs, habits and prejudices breaking down, changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires, and the aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country which no wise and cautions Government can afford to disregard, and to which they must gradually adapt their system of administration if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they have themselves called into being, but which they have failed to guide and control."

THE FUTILITY OF REACTION.

The quotation is a long one, but it is fraught with wisdom, and it is needles to say that during the twenty

years which have since elapsed, the conditions mentioned by Lord Cromer have developed with increasing rapidity. It is not within the power of any man to obstruct the tide of progress otherwise than for a time, by a policy of reaction. The period of Lord Ripon, and of his Finance Minister, who is now Lord Cromer, has been well described as the Golden Age of Indian reformers, when the aspiration of the people were encouraged, education and local self-government were fostered, and the foundation of Indian nationality were firmly laid. The natural treand of offical opinion has been to assert itself in a reactionary outburst against this development, disparaging the vantage ground acquired in the past. We are told that the salvation of India is not to be sought on the filed of politics at the present stage of her development, that there are many other fiedls of usefulness and power which lie around the citadel of politics, and that when these fields are occupied the entrance to real political life will be easy, natural, and safe. We read in the columns of the *Times*: "We must wearily retrace our steps and devote our energies to education the Indians in character and common sense. Then, and not till then, can we put them out into the polytechnic of local self-government." We must wait, forsooth, for a working reality "until generations and geneiations of really educated Indians have come and gone." We are told that the weakness and limitations of the newly-educated classes are now more clearly perceived, and that the complexities of the problems of Oriental politics are more distinctly realised. These are the common places of reaction. They are the arguments of Mr. Noodle in his fatuous oration by Sydney Smith. But it is not by indulgence in such vague generalities that the current of advance can be stemmed. Of what avail is it to disparage Burke and Macaulay and Bright, Ripon, Cromer, and Elphinstone? You cannot withstand the flowing tide. Temporary spasms of reaction are inevitable. They pass away like footprints on the sand, and we need not trouble ourselves too much with vexatious aberrations from the path of progress. They will be quickly forgotten. I have seen signs among you of depression, and has noticed a tendency to submit with resignation to the policy of a *regime* which affords no encouragement to your aspirations. I am not surprised at these symptoms, but assuredly you have little cause for giving way to a sense of despondency. It is not reserved to any human agency to set back the dial of time. The result of reaction is always to galvanise into fresh life. Be vigilant, therefore, be hopeful; be of good cheer and of a gladsome countenance. Relax not your efforts, for the waves of progress are irresistibly dashing against the breakwater of prejudice and even now the day is dawning which Macaulay declared would be the proudest day of England's history.

THE IDEAL OF INIDA'S FUTURE.

Let us accustom ourselves to the conception which the realisation of a national spirit in India involves. The present form of British administration cannot survive the fulfilment of those national tendencies which the British Government itself has brought into existence. But India is bound to England as England is to India. England has incurred liabilities not lightly to be set aside, and she should no more break from her past than should India break from the traditions of her history. It was lately declared by a high authority that he could not conceive of a time as remotely possible in which it would be either practicable or desirable that Great Britain should take her hand from the Indian plough. But such is not my conception of India's future. An abrupt retreat would, indeed, be advocated by no one, and the process of reconstruction cannot be effected otherwise than by slow and gradual means. Many years must elapse before we can expect the consummation of a reconstructive policy. But it is a policy which we should always keep before our eyes. Indian patriots look back on their past with a just sense of pride, and they know that India will again take her own rank among the nations of the East. They are striving for the attainment of this ideal which, however, it may be delayed or marred in execution is sure in the event.

Autonomy is the keynote of England's true relations with her great Colonies. It is the key note also of India's destiny. It is more than this it is the destiny of the world. The tendency of Empire in the civilised world is in the direction of compact autonomous States which are federated together and attached by common motives and self-interest to a central power. You have already local legislatures, in which a certain measure of representation has been granted to the Indian people. A small concession has been made in this direction, but it is wholly inadequate to meet growing demands. In the cautious and gradual development of representation, in the increase of your power and influence in India itself, involving the ultimate extension of autonomy, we shall find the appropriate and natural prize and legitimate goal for Indian aspirations. It was the dream of John Bright, and he indulged in no mere mystic prophecy when he foresaw that India would fulfil her ultimate destines by a process of evolution, out of which she would emerge, not through force or violence as an independent State, or torn from the Mother Country, or abandoned to England's enemies, but as a federated portion of the dominion of the great British Empire. The idea of an Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and seperate State, the United States of India, placed on a fraternal footing with the self-governing Colonies, each with its own local autonomy, cemented together under the ægis of great Britain. That is a forecast of a future, dim and distant though it be, the gradual relisation of which it is the privilege of Govrnment to regulate, and the aim and the hope and aspiration of the Indian people to attain.

This is our ideal of India's future. The process of reconstruction should be always before our eyes. Changes may, and should, be gradual, but they must come, and we should prepare ourselves for their realisation. Statemanship consists in foreseeing, and we are all of us the better for the exercise of forethought. Familiarise yourselves, therefore, with a conception of India's future, which gathers as it grews, and insensibly attracts into the political evolution all other great problems of economic and social reform which are awaiting solution.

(To be continued)